then he came to announce his departure to Mark, and to take leave of him.

"I have nothing to say to you, dear Lincoln—nothing whatever, except once more to entreat your pardon for what has passed, and to wish you well with all my heart."

He could not seek to change his guest's purpose—could not ask him to remain; how could he do so, indeed, knowing that while he staid he would be exposed to daily and hourly insult. He wished to order the carriage, but Lincoln positively refused to avail himself of it, saying that he would walk to the next village, and send for his trunks. Mark then pressed upon him the use of his own riding-horse, and Lincoln, to avoid wounding him, accepted it.

The young men then went down stairs; Lincoln entered the parlor, to bid adieu to his "most gracious hostess," and Mark left the house to order the horses, for he was resolved to accompany his friend.

In a few minutes they were in their saddles, and on the road leading to C——, a little, muddy, miserable town, about five miles down the river.

Here the friends finally separated, but not until Lincoln's trunks had been sent for and had arrived, and Lincoln himself had entered the stage that passed through the village that night, and was to convey him to some steamboat landing on the Mississippi, by which route he preferred to return North. They took leave, with mutual assurances of remembrances, and promises of frequent correspondence.

It was late at night when Mark Sutherland returned to his home, and he immediately went to his room.

He arose the next morning, with the full determination to set immediately to work.

"I must plunge myself into action, lest I wither by despair," might well have been his thought. His mother received him at the breakfast table with a freezing coldness. He told her respectfully what he intended to do during the day. She curled her lip, and begged him to proceed, without remorse or fear, to unroof the house that sheltered her head—that she trusted Heaven would give her strength to bear even that.

After breakfast, he set out, and rode to Jackson, to engage the services of a lawyer, to assist him in making out the deeds and taking the legal measures required in emancipating his slaves. As the distance to the city was a full day's journey, and he had business enough to occupy the whole of the second day, he did not reach home until the evening of the third. He came, accompanied by a lawyer. They were both tired and hungry, but found no supper prepared, and no one to make them welcome. Mr. Sutherland went out, and inquired for his mother, and was told that that lady desired to be excused from receiving the official that had come to make her homeless. Mark stifled a sigh; he ordered refreshments for his guest, and soon after showed him to his sleeping chamber.

The next day was a very busy, yet a very trying one. On coming down into the breakfast room, Mark Sutherland heard with poignant sorrow that his mother had departed from the house, carrying with her many of her personal effects, as if for a long or permanent absence, and had gone to take up her abode at Cashmere. In consternation at this act, Mark Sutherland rushed out to institute further inquiries, and found in front of the house a baggage-wagon, with Billy Bolling standing up in the midst, receiving and packing away trunks, boxes, &c., that were lifted to him by two negro men in attendance.

"In the name of Heaven, what is the meaning of all this, Uncle Billy?" asked Mark, in trepidation.

Mr. Bolling stood up, took his handkerchief leisurely from his pocket, wiped his flushed, perspiring face, replaced it, and answered—

"It means, sir, that you have turned my sister out of doors; that is all it means."

"But, Uncle Billy, my dear mother has perfect"——

"D——n it, sir, don't call my sister mother, or me Uncle Billy! You are no son or nephew of ours; we wash our hands of you! We cast you off! We'll have nothing to do with you!"

"Why, Mr. Bolling, what is the"——

"Confound it, sir, don't talk to me; you are a villain, sir! James, drive on!" And clapping his hat upon his head, Mr. Bolling sat down and settled the last box in its place, and the wagon was driven off.

It is impossible to describe the state of mind in which Mark Sutherland found himself. The distracting thoughts and emotions that whirled through brain and heart excited him almost to frenzy. He immediately wrote an imploring, passionate note to his mother, briefly alluding to the independence he intended to secure to her, and supplicating her to return to her own home. He sent it off; and, in a few minutes, unsatisfied with that note, he wrote another more affectionate, more ardent, more supplicating, and despatched that also.

And then, half-maddened as he was, he turned and set himself to his business. He caused all the slaves to be assembled on the lawn. He went out to them, and announced his intention of setting them free, and sending all who were willing to go, to the free States, to Canada, or to Liberia. He explained to them the good that must accrue to the younger and more intelligent and industrious among them, who might emigrate and settle in the last-named place. This news did not take the negroes the least by surprise. They had heard whisperings of the cause that had broken off their master's marriage, and set all his family and friends at feud with him. After closing his little speech to the assembled slaves, he singled out some dozen among them—heads of cabin families—old and steady negroes; and he took them with him into his library, where he explained to them at greater length the great advantages of the plan of emigration to Liberia. And then he dismissed them, to converse with each other, to reflect, and decide what they wished to do.

Next, he left his study to go and inquire if the messenger sent to his mother had returned. He found the man watching for him in the hall. He held a letter in his hand. Mr. Sutherland eagerly snatched it. It contained a few lines, formally advising him that no further communication would be received from him, which was not preceded by a full and complete renunciation of his obnoxious plans. While his gaze was painfully riveted upon this note, the second messenger arrived, bringing a letter in her hand. He seized it. *It was his own, returned unopened.*

"Did you see Mrs. Sutherland, Flamingo?"

"Yes sir."

"What did she say?"

"I gave her the letter, sir; she took it, and read the direction, and handed it back to me, and told me to take it back to him who sent it, and not to bring her another one."

"That will do—you may go," said Mark, and a spasm of pain twitched his countenance, as he tore up the letter and threw the fragments away.

"That is not all, sir—there is something else."

"Well, what new stab?" he thought; but he *said*—

"Well, what is it?"

Flamingo took from under his arm a small packet, wrapped in tissue paper, and handed it to him.

"What is this? Where did you get this?"

"Miss Rosalie gave it to me to bring to you."

"You may go now," said Mr. Sutherland, as he opened a door and passed into the parlor, and sat down to look at the packet. It was a little morocco case, containing a lady's small pocket Bible, bound in white velvet and silver, with silver clasps. An elegant little *bijou* it was. Upon the fly-leaf was written, "*Rosalie Vivian, from her affectionate and happy mother.*" And this writing bore a date of several years before.

On the opposite page was inscribed, "*Mark Sutherland, with the deep respect of Rosalie Vivian.*" And this inscription bore the date of to-day. A leaf was folded down, and when he opened it at the 27th psalm he saw marked this passage: "When my father and my mother forsake me, then will the Lord take me up." There was still another page turned down, and another pencil stroke, enclosing these words, (Mark x, 29:) "And Jesus answered, and said, verily, I say unto you, there is no man hath left home, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my sake and the gospel's, but he shall receive an hundred fold now in this time, houses, and brethren, and sisters, and mothers, and children, and lands, with persecutions; and in the world to come, eternal life."

He turned over the little book with a fond look and smile—partly given to the elegant little *bijou* itself, such an inappropriate sort of copy to be sent to a man—and partly to the fair, gentle girl, its donor. The little incident came to him like a soft, encouraging pressure of the hand, or a kind word at his greatest need—like a loving benediction. And for the blessed words that were marked, they were dropped into his broken and tearful heart like good seed into the ploughed and watered earth, *to bring forth fruit in due season.*

He replaced the little book in its case, wrapped it again in its tissue paper, and for the present lodged it within the ample breast of his coat. He had never in his life heard Rosalie give expression to one fine heroic sentiment, such as fell plenteously from the lips of India, as the pearls and diamonds from the fairy-favored maiden of the child's story. But now he could not suppress the painful regret that the brilliant and enthusiastic India had not possessed more of the tenderness, sympathy, and *moral independence*, found in the fragile, retiring Rosalie.

It were tedious as needless to follow Mark Sutherland through all the multifarious and harassing details of business that filled up the next few weeks. His path was full of difficulties. Not only social and domestic discouragements and legal obstacles and delays, but difficulties that arose on the part of the negroes themselves. A few of them did not want the old state of things, with its familiar associations and close attachments, broken up. Some of them, who were anxious to be free, had wives and children, or husbands, upon some neighboring plantation, and so were held bound by their affections. Nay, indeed, often a mere fraternal love was sufficient to produce this effect. There was one young woman who preferred slavery to a separation from "Brother Jack and Old Mist'"—i. e. mistress. Her objections were overruled, and she was taken on board a steamboat with a party, under the charge of a man who was to see them safely beyond the Canada line; but her eyes were always distilling quiet tears; and when the agent asked her what was the matter, she answered, "A-pinin' after Old Mist' an' Brother Jack." There was absolutely nothing to be done but to let her return. This class of negroes, whose affections were so much stronger than their intellect or their spirits, proved to be a great trial and vexation to Mark, not only by throwing nearly insurmountable obstacles in the way of their own emancipation, but by affording his opponents much material for sneering. And if any one should be astonished at the stupidity of these ignorant people, let them cease to wonder, and let us look at our own fatuity in a parallel case: Here is God and Christ, always offering us redemption from the degrading bondage and darkness of sin, into the glorious liberty and light of regeneration, and we will not take it! We hesitate, doubt, and fear. We close our eyes to the unwelcome and disturbing light, and grovel again in darkness. It was in vain their benefactor told these men that after a few years of labor and saving they would be able to purchase their wives or children. They shook their heads—they feared—their spirits were too faint. As far as his means would go, Mr. Sutherland purchased these wives or children, and emancipated and sent them off with their husbands and fathers. And, after all, the majority of the slaves preferred their freedom before every other good.

At length, it was all over—the slaves all emancipated and gone, each with a sum of money to pay their transport and provide their immediate necessities, until they should find work. Many misgivings troubled the heart of Mr. Sutherland, as to whether they would do well with the liberty so unaccustomed and so newly given; but no doubts as to the righteousness of his own act ever crossed his mind. And so he committed the result to Providence.

He had taken care to secure the homestead to his mother. For her benefit he, had also placed at interest thirty thousand dollars, which, at six per cent., would yield her an income of eighteen hundred.

Having thus wound up his business, he went over to Cashmere to seek an interview—a *farewell* interview—with his mother and relatives. He learned that they had, a few days before, left Cashmere for the North.

The next morning, Mark Sutherland, with only ninety dollars in his pocket-book, with his wardrobe and his law books, departed from his childhood's home.

It may be as well to state here, that when the Sutherlands returned, in the autumn, Mrs. Sutherland, with some ten or twelve slaves, her own personal property, philosophically took up her abode at Silentshades, availed herself of the income her son had secured to her, and made herself generally comfortable.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

EXTRACTS FROM OUR CORRESPONDENCE.

St. Louis, March 15, 1853.—I have lately heard of a remarkable case of the good effects produced by reading Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin," which is certainly worthy of note, and may be an example for good. All honor to the worthy author! The case was this: H. D. Bacon, Esq., the eminent banker of this city, and one of the most distinguished citizens of the West, both for his liberality and enterprise, as well as for giving freely of his riches to build churches and endow colleges, had a favorite female slave, who with her child were the only slaves he owned, and which for some years he had left entirely uncontrolled. The woman was married to a free man of color, both being pious Christians, and, with her husband, was careless to procure free papers, which it was expected she could get at any time, when solicited. After reading "Uncle Tom," Mr. Bacon was convinced of the necessity of immediate action, and spoke to the confiding husband and wife of their perilous condition, in case he should die suddenly, wishing or rather urging them to procure the required security immediately, that they might be by law, what they only now were by his consent, free—all of which, I am happy to say, has been satisfactorily arranged, agreeably to both parties.

Perhaps you can condense a paragraph from the above. There is no question as to its truth; in fact, the case is really much stronger than is here presented. J. W.

Amid the jibes and jeers of "lower law" divines, and the vile insinuations and open hate of Hunker politicians and editors, Mrs. Stowe can trust to time to vindicate the truth of her great work. The above, we doubt not, is one of many instances where it has induced persons to bestow tardy justice upon those dependent upon them. *

Olive, Mobile county, Ohio, March 14.—I had a recent conversation with a Compromise Democrat, which may indicate the views which prevail in this section. I asked him why he was a Democrat. He replied, because he was in favor of the time-honored principles of the party. I then asked him what those principles were. What are your principles? he at length replied, somewhat confused. I told him that if he would take the trouble to examine the Pittsburgh platform, he would find out. Have you a platform? he said, somewhat astonished. Yes, sir, said I, and if you will read the *National Era* you will see what our principles are. Well, sir, are you in favor of freedom of speech and of the press? Yes, sir, he said. Do you support the Baltimore Platform? I stand on that platform. Are you in favor of the Fugitive Slave Law? No, sir; three-fourths of the Democratic party are opposed to it, and it will be repealed. I then asked him to tell me the difference between the two platforms adopted at Baltimore. After some hesitation, he said he never saw them. It is for the purpose of doing away with the erroneous impressions which prevail, that we are anxious to start in Noble county a Free Press, which shall attempt to arouse public sentiment upon the great question of Human Freedom. The number of freemen in this county is about 600, and probably 1,000 in the adjoining counties.

The above letter is suggestive. A free Democratic press is doubtless needed in Noble county. *

THE SLAVE TRADE IN BRAZIL.—It appears that the Brazilian slave trade has become nearly extinct. This is mainly due to the measures of the Brazilian Government itself, which, of late, has become sincerely and resolutely in earnest to suppress the traffic. The importation of slaves into Brazil, in 1848, amounted to 60,000, and in 1851 to only 3,286, of which 1,096 were captured by Brazilian cruisers, and declared free. During the past year, one vessel, and only one, it is said, is known to have landed a cargo of slaves on the coast of Brazil; and this occurred last June. The Brazilian Government deals very summarily with the slave traders. Any person found concerned in the traffic, no matter what his rank or condition may be, is imprisoned or banished without ceremony.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, MARCH 31, 1853.

The following named gentlemen are authorized agents for the cities of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston:
William Alcorn, No. 826 Lombard street, Phila.
William Harned, No. 48 Beekman street, N. York.
G. W. Light, No. 3 Cornhill, Boston.

The editor of the *Era* is absent this week. He went to New York, expecting to see Mrs. Stowe before she should sail for Europe. We regret to hear that Mrs. S. was unable to sail from New York on the 26th inst., as she intended, on account of severe illness. *

HON. J. R. GIDDINGS has issued an address to the people of Cuyahoga, Lake, and Geauga counties, which we are unable to publish this week. These counties compose the district which Mr. Giddings so long and so faithfully represented in Congress; and his address recapitulates some of the changes in public sentiment since he first entered the House of Representatives. It will appear in the next *Era*. *

PITTSBURG WEEKLY DISPATCH.—The first number of this new weekly has been received. It is an independent paper, and professes to discuss impartially all questions of interest to the public. See advertisement. *

"MARK SUTHERLAND."—We are still able to supply subscribers with the paper from the commencement of this story. Persons desiring to begin with the story will please state the fact in ordering the paper.

☞ Subscribers who do not file the *Era* will confer a favor by remailing Nos. 314 and 315 to this office.

TO ADVERTISERS.

We have been compelled, for want of room, to suspend several new advertisements lately received, but will give them a place as soon as we can make room for them. We devote but three columns to advertisements, and are therefore not always able to insert all received, but endeavor to do so as speedily as possible, and in the rotation in which they are received.

Our terms for advertising are *ten cents a line* for the first insertion, and *five cents a line* for each subsequent insertion.

THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE.

"Agitation is dead!" So say the Hunker Whigs—so say the Hunker Democrats. The wish is probably father to the thought. The new Administration is inaugurated. The new President endorses the Compromise acts, and declares that the Fugitive Slave Law must be carried into effect; and all his supporters say, Amen! Conservative Whigs vie with Hunker Democrats in singing praises to the new divinity who presides in the White House. The incense of flattery ascends from a thousand zealous "patriots," anxious to serve their country and to be fed with the crumbs of patronage which fall from the rich man's table. The edicts of the Baltimore Convention have been obeyed—agitation has ceased! The Free Democracy may be represented just now as the Lazarus lying at the rich man's gate, but none of the crumbs fall to the share of this Lazarus. The expectants of crumbs hope to gain favor by sneering at the beggar.

In view of recent facts, however, it may be doubted [illegible]. The new President has chosen two Southern Secessionists for seats in his Cabinet. The vacant seat on the Bench of the Supreme Court is given to another Secessionist. Efforts are making to ignore Freedom in the free States, and to inaugurate Slavery in its stead, and laws tending to produce this result are introduced into the Legislatures of New York and Pennsylvania. The effort to annul Freedom in Illinois has been successful, at least so far as the Legislature of that State could effect it; and the following paragraphs indicate what are the designs of the slaveholders in regard to California. One thing is certain—agitation *for* Slavery has not ceased, whatever may be said of agitation against it:

"The division of California into three States, distinct and separate, is now contemplated and pressed there. A majority of the Legislature, it is said, will order a State Convention, and upon that Convention will depend the mode, manner, and boundaries of division.

"The three States are to be named 'Sierra,' the mountain division, which has about 23,000 inhabitants by the last census; 'California,' which has 207,388; and 'Tulare,' the Southern State, including Los Angelos and San Diego, which has 34,150 inhabitants, and about seven and a half millions of taxable property. This Southern State of Tulare, in the division, it is contemplated by many of the occupants to make a slave State of, and one of the objects of pressing the division is to establish slavery there.

"The State debt of California is about three millions of dollars; and this debt, divided among the new States, would give California \$2,333,333; Tulare, \$400,000; and Sierra, \$266,667."

Here, then, we have it. Years ago, the *Era* called attention to the designs of the Slavery-extensionists in California. Their schemes were masked, and the above is the first open announcement of their purposes. The public sentiment of this new State can hardly be said to be awake to the importance of the subjects proposed in the above paragraphs. The project to erect a new slave State on the Pacific coast is talked of as coolly as men would talk of the purchase of a horse, and seems to excite no astonishment. Selfishness makes its demands, and the rights, the interests, and the happiness of untold generations have no weight in the scale. Will this scheme be successful? We fear it may be. Trading politicians from the Atlantic States have gone to California to advance their schemes of interest or ambition, and some of them with the specific purpose of extending the institution of Slavery. This class, so far as we can learn, control the Executive and Legislative departments of the State. Their efforts are unremitting to gain a foothold for Slavery on the Pacific coast. The above announcement indicates that their purposes are ripe for execution.

In view of this state of things, is it possible to check the agitation of the Slavery question? Will not the mandates of political National Conventions and Congressional resolves to make a *final* settlement of it by compromises, be alike disregarded? Like the ghost of Banquo, Agitation will not down! at their bidding.

One aspect of things is discouraging—another is hopeful. While politicians are active to introduce a reign of barbarism, and to enthrone serfdom in States and on soil consecrated to Freedom, the world is awaking to the enormities of Slavery. The enthusiastic reception of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" has paved the way for the inculcation of Anti-Slavery truth, and the friends of Freedom are called on by the condition of things around them not to relax their efforts, but to redouble and extend them. Let them do this in all practical ways—by spreading broadcast the issues of that mighty engine, the public press—by appeals to the judgment and consciences of their fellow-citizens—by conversations at the fireside and in social intercourse—by the organization of township and county clubs—by the gratuitous circulation of speeches and documents containing reliable facts, and by appeals to Heaven for a blessing on their labors. A righteous cause does not require unrighteous means to sustain it, and persistent action in the right direction will not fail to convince slaveholders, as well as lukewarm non-slaveholders, that their interests and the interests of the nation, no less than the advancement of Humanity in knowledge and virtue, demand that the right of all men to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," be recognised and established.

We see no ground for despair. Shadows, it is true, darken the horizon. But, thank God! the day is dawning. *

For the National Era.

DREAMING AND DUTY.

BY MARY IRVING.

You bid me leave my life of dreams,
And live the life that men call real;
To cast from my soul-chrysalis
Its web of gossamer ideal.

Go, chide the rose for idly thus
The summer evening's air perfuming—
Unveil the hidden violet,
And blame it for its lowly blooming.

Go—train the warbling wren to sing
Another song than God has taught it;
Or steal from my own mocking-bird
The myriad tones the winds have brought it!

Tell Ocean to be dumb, and still
Niagara's voice of "thunders seven!"
Teach every star among the spheres
To speak of something less than Heaven!

Then come, and bid me cease to dream!
When all that God gives dreamers only,
Has gone from earth, and sea, and sky—
And I am pining, left and lonely!

Dear friend! He would not wake the flowers
To shake my pulse with voiceless hymning—
He would not give the gush of song
That fills my heart to over-brimming—

If it were sin, with thankful tears,
To drink these dreams from bird and blossom;
To nurse a heart-throb that has found
No answer in *your* tideless bosom!

Oh! let me dream my life along!
I'll tread the rugged path of Duty,
May I but sow its stoniest steeps
With dream-land flowers of Love and Beauty!

I'll keep them fresh with happy tears,
From a young spirit's over-gushing—
I know the careless, crowding world,
Their feeble fragrance will be crushing;

But after I am gone, perhaps
Some humbler pilgrim, toiling there,
May pluck them with a sudden smile—
A fresher step—a firmer prayer!

NATURAL HISTORY OF SLAVERY.—NO. 1.

Slavery—the exercise of ownership by one man over another—is a many-sided subject. As a question of natural right, the logic of both natural and civil law agree that it can begin only in wrong; the moral law settles it by the principle, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them;" and religion requires every man to love his neighbor as himself.

Abstractly, there is no doubt or difference of judgment about it. But the thing exists, and requires to be considered and treated not as a principle only, but as a fact. The conclusions of right reason, the requirements of absolute justice, and the obligations of religion, are not sufficient of themselves to close the controversy, because they have not yet been actually inaugurated in the government of human societies, and do not receive the efficient application to the conduct of anything which is demanded for them in this. In reason, justice, and religion, Slavery has no place; in human experience, it has existed all over the world and in every age. The *Higher Law* is not abrogated, neither is it suspended, by any accidental impracticability. It rules of right, as God governs the world; but it is restrained of its proper force, as He is of his authority, by the conditions of human societies.

A fact universal as Slavery is in human history is the effect of causes, operating through a law or laws of the subject, which men must understand and adjust themselves to, if they would successfully interfere in order to ameliorate or abolish the system. It is a fact that men may know and venerate the absolute right, without being able thereby to legislate it into force in the conduct of their affairs. To love my neighbor as myself is so conformable to all that is best and bravest in me, that I can neither secure my own respect nor the world's without compliance. All that heroism which men everywhere worship, is but its practical illustration. No human soul accepts anything less in its ideal of excellence. But, how difficult it is in all things to impart, equally to all, the good which I enjoy? Many occasions are offered to every one for a perfect obedience to the precept, but circumstances make every man an offender against it in many things. Even in the life of an individual, a question of duty is not always settled for immediate and unconditional practice by ascertaining the eternal right of it; and in that great compromise of social agency which every man makes by joining with every other man in the community, in order to do the best they can for the common weal, there is large space left as there is positive necessity for the accommodations of a wise and honest expediency.

The Abolitionist is constantly met with the alleged impracticableness of his policy; and he must meet the argument, for it is a legitimate one. Those who are in resistance, it may be, are more stubborn than reasonable or just, in retorting the mote in the reformer's eye as an offset to the beam in their own; but all such recrimination, however much it may be an evasion of the perfect standard, is yet at bottom a plea of inability, fortifying itself by the general delinquency which it alleges. It says, in effect, "You ask of me a perfect obedience to laws and principles, which in a different application you yourself violate, because neither you nor I can fully obey them in our respective conditions." When the English philanthropist asks the Southern slaveholder to free his bondmen, he answers, "You have not yet emancipated yours; you have transformed the ancient serfdom of your laborers into a wages-slavery, which you call freedom, but it starves and brutalizes its victims none the less for its fairer name." This is not true, either in statement or in effect, for the point and purpose it is made to meet; but it is nevertheless based, though rudely and badly, upon a truth which deserves consideration. That truth is the difficulty of complying with the requirements of highest principles in the actual circumstances of human societies. It amounts to a general affirmation that labor is everywhere oppressed, and it assumes a necessity and implies an excuse for the wrong. The demand for the slave's legal emancipation is met by a denial that the measure is an adequate remedy for the evils which it proposes to remove. The defence is not complete, for the thing is not in itself defensible; the reply is not true in facts and statement, for the purpose is not candid; and the argument is unsound, because it does not fully intend to display the absolute truth and establish the right.

I propose to make the confession and the complaint of both sides, kindly and generously allowing all just excuses, and at the same time vindicating the law that rules and rebukes both parties to the great controversy.

The strife, as it stands, though it is concerned with things, is most frequently a war of words only; the issue made is generally a false one, or at best a side issue, that loses the true drift of the question. Forms and names are taken for facts and ideas, and the combatants seldom strike each other fairly in front. I hope to escape some of this mistake, by treating the whole subject as a question of labor and capital—a history of poverty and wealth—the inevitable slavery of the one, and the practical tyranny of the other. This apprehension, I believe, will justify itself as the investigation proceeds, and it will at least have the effect of putting the combatants upon even terms with each other, and compelling them to fight with their proper weapons, without advantage of foils and feints in the conflict. The slaveholder cannot object to such an array, for it gives him the full use of all his armor, offensive and defensive; and the Abolitionist cannot complain if he is turned into the arena as naked of artificial defences as his enemy.

I do not say that labor is slavery, that wages is bondage, nor that employer and owner are the same thing. These are or are not equivalent terms, as actual results and open possibilities determine; but I do not overstate the full meaning of *poverty*, when I affirm that it is the essence and substance of Slavery. The slave is the poorest of men, for he does not own his own bones and muscles; the man who owns nothing else is often as much in the market for the sale of all there is in them which the capitalist wants of him or them. That this point is not too bluntly or too broadly stated, will appear, I think, as we proceed. I do not stop now to indicate the difference of condition and attitude which circumstances are capable of effecting; that also will appear in the progress of the investigation. My conclusions will be drawn from the argument after it is presented—not stated now, at the risk of a biassing endeavor to establish them.

I am concerned now at the outset to guard and define the proposition that poverty is slavery, in order to avoid the prejudice of any possible misapprehension, and for the available use of the idea through the whole discussion of our subject. I am aware that Religion, both Pagan and Christian, as well as enlightened philosophy, provides consolations for hardship, suffering, and want, and annexes remunerations to self-denial and privation, which lend them a charm that nothing intrinsic in wealth can match; but it is not Lazarus at the rich man's door begging for bread, that affords the flattering contrast, but Lazarus in Abraham's bosom, and Dives in torment, which strikes the fancy and arouses the admiration. St. Paul hits the heart of the truth when he declares that "if in this life only we have hope, then are we of all men the most miserable." The life does not wholly lie on the level and within the grasp of circumstances; nor does it end with the strife which we here maintain with adversity. And "the sufferings of the present are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us;" but neither Religion nor Philosophy regard poverty—that poverty which brings ignorance, disease, slavery, and death—in any other light than as a blight, an evil, a curse, to be mitigated only in the degree that it is removed.

When the Great Teacher required his disciples to forsake all and follow him; when he promised them only hunger and thirst, and persecution, and the loss of all things, he uttered no commendation of that poverty to which he invited them; he spoke only a pre- [illegible] lot of sorrow, suffering, and martyrdom, to be compensated, because it is a loss, by the current consciousness of benevolent heroism, and the ultimate glory which should follow. Suffering for the benefit of others, which cannot be otherwise accomplished, he enjoins both by precept and example; but it is a majestic overmastering of evils in charitable achievement which he commends, and not a word of contentment and pleasure does he utter with the supposed good of restraining and enfeebling privation. His miracles were wrought to relieve the distress of want and sickness. He went about delivering the poor from their endurance. He fed the hungry and healed the sick, in the same spirit that he cast out demons. Moreover, he reproduced and enlarged the idea of Moses, that temporal good is to be insured by the establishment of the Kingdom of God and his justice upon the earth. The founder of the Jewish State made the blessings of conformity to the theocratic system of civil government to consist wholly in temporal prosperity; the penalties of disobedience, in want, suffering, and slavery. (Deut., chap. xxviii.) And Christ clearly and positively promises abundance of the goods of this life to the church, when it shall organize its polity according to the justice of Heaven: "All these things, (viz: 'what ye shall eat, and what ye shall drink, and wherewithal ye shall be clothed,') shall be added unto you," (Matth., vi, 31–33,) as incidents of the new theocracy, when the requirements of its system shall be understood and obeyed.

These benefits of what we call wealth and luxury, here signified, are evidently not so much spiritual that they must needs be miraculous. They are to result from the established constitution of things rightly employed. They are a prediction of science, as well as a prophecy of revelation. And they are as sure as happiness must spring from the harmonies of the creation; as sure as beneficence must result from obedience to the system of existence, as it lies in the purpose of God.

It was but natural, perhaps, that stoicism and asceticism should result, the one from a high philosophy, the other from a sublime religion; for much endurance has ever hitherto been demanded by the prevalent evil of the world; but the duty of generous self-sacrifice and sturdy self-denial springs not out of their absolute excellence, but out of their necessity, leaving it still a higher duty to remove their causes and to replace their mischief by the conditions of a happier development for the life of the race. Men look for the "better time coming" on the earth, under the same impulse that they anticipate the blessedness of heaven. Thorns and thistles from the soil whose primitive product was good and beauty only, was at first, and while they remain will continue to be, a curse—only a curse—however the material evil may be made the indirect occasion of spiritual good. John the Baptist, the herald of the new order, came preaching in the wilderness of Judea, saying, "The kingdom of heaven is *at hand*." Jesus never preached from any other *text*; and when he commissioned "the twelve" to go out among the lost sheep of the house of Israel, this was the burden of their message. (Matth., iii, 3; iv, 17; x, 7.) "Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done in earth as in heaven; give us this day our daily bread," has the like application to temporal blessings; nor is the sense of either of these passages limited to a spiritual or future state. They do not primarily look to a point in celestial geography, but to a perfect order of earthly existence. A religion which has no remedy for the evil and disorder of this life, is, for the purposes of the earth, a failure, and might as well be reserved for that state of existence to which it applies. If Christianity were wholly metaphysical, it would be inferior to Judaism and to natural morality. It must embrace a sound philanthropy, a wise political economy, and contemplate a millennial blessedness on earth, or it is but a dream of poetry, a vision of philosophical enthusiasm. The miracles of Christ have obviously this significance—nature shall be brought into obedience to grace. "Greater things than these shall ye do," foretells the perfect dominion over the elements which the wisdom of righteousness is destined to attain. Man is to be delivered from his slavery to the material world; faith shall remove mountains, heal the sick, feed the hungry, cast out devils, raise the dead, and realize in the ordinary experiences of earthly life the sovereignty of manhood over all its temporal conditions. The fact that spiritual, moral, and intellectual good, as they grow, proportionately overcome the evil of the world, is demonstrative evidence of a final triumph.

Want, meaning privation, or poverty of means and opportunity, is in no sense or degree the cause of our faculties, or of their activity and improvement. Want, or desire, in the sense of aspiration, is the impulse and cultivator of our powers; and the presence and fitting command of their proper objects is the necessary condition of their activity and growth. It is not subjection to, but sovereignty over, the physical forces which surround us, that best displays our faculties, and elicits them most favorably. Wealth is external, just as health is internal; luxury, and all real growth of the common life of men conditionally depends upon them. Self-denial and cross-bearing in the Christian system are strictly sacrificial, atoning, redeeming; they are death to the disciple, and the good which they secure to the world is abated, nevertheless, by the loss it sustains in his destruction. It were better if there were no occasion for the sacrifice; nay, the sacrifice is made to remove forever the occasion itself, and only for that purpose is it beneficial and obligatory. The sufferings and services of benevolence, patriotism, philanthropy, and religion, are evils and losses to the hero—evils intrinsically, whose office is to atone for other evils, and relieve and remove them. All genuine joy is good—all suffering is the fruit of sin, and carries ever with it the hereditary blight.

In the Divine purpose, man is the rightful lord of the earth, and master of its physical forces. Provision is made in the constitution of things for the establishment of his actual dominion over all the inferior creatures, animate and inanimate. They must be subdued to his uses. As they were created by the word of Almighty Power, they are yet to be governed by the intelligence of the beings created in the likeness of the Supreme Ruler. Humanity inherits the rule from the Maker, with all the rights, privileges, and powers, incident to the inheritance.

To Labor is delegated the divine function of continuous re-creation. It is the Immanuel, the material form and force of the "God with us." The insurgent forces of matter are everywhere in hostile array, but they are capable of a dutiful and beneficent service. The conflict would be greatly unequal, if animal force only were opposed to their resistance. Nature obeys *laws*; these laws are the method, the rule of action, of the Divine Mind. The discovery of His ideas makes them ours, and gives us their controlling power. He created all things by a word; we may rule them by a thought, when we shall have conquered our way into His secret. When we shall know the laws, we will need but to adjust the elements to each other, and they will do our work, and then the master of nature will be emancipated from his slavery, and invested with the complete viceroyalty of the globe. The dynamics of steam and magnetism are in proof and prophecy of such consummation.

The history of labor in the past, the facts of its progress and present condition, teach the great truth that material force, by the economy of nature, is necessarily the slave of mind. It is rightfully subordinate, whether it be in the form of dead machinery, or animal or human muscles—no matter, it is instrumental, merely, and it cannot be directory or governing. Physical power is but the servant of intellect, and its subordination, whether human, instinctive, or mechanical, is inevitable. It cannot, it should not, be otherwise. The supremacy of the soul over the body is necessary to all the highest ends of our existence. The whole economy of earthly things compels it. Its purposes are all beneficent. Its actual workings are abundant in good fruits already gathered, and full of promise for the future. The law, rightly understood, justifies the ways of Providence to man.

In our next article we will look into the facts of history and its teachings, for the light they can afford us upon our subject.

SENIOR.

OPENING OF THE RIVERS AMAZON AND LA PLATA.

The *Epoca*, a paper published at La Paz, the Capital of Bolivia, publishes a decree of the Government of that country, declaring free to the commerce and mercantile navigation of all nations, the waters of the navigable rivers, which, flowing through that territory, empty into the Amazon and Paraguay. The decree says:

"II. The following are declared free ports, open to the traffic and navigation of all vessels of commerce, whatever may be their flag, destination, or tonnage:

"In the river Mamore—Exaltacion, Trinidad, and Loreto.

"In the Beni—Rurenavaque, Muchanis, and Magdalena.

"In the Piray—Cuatro Ojos.

"In Chapare—Coni and Chimore, tributaries of the Mamore; the points of Asunta, Coni, and Chimore.

"In the rivers Mapiri and Coroico, tributaries of the Beni—the points of Guanay and Corioco.

"In the Pilcomayo—The port of Magarinos, on the east coast of the Paraguay, La Bahia Negra, and the point of Borbon.

"In the Bermejo—the point situated in 21 deg. 30 min. south latitude, at which embarked in 1848 the national engineers, Ondarza and Majia.

"III. The vessels of war of friendly nations will also be permitted to visit these ports.

"IV. The Government of Bolivia, availing itself of the unquestionable right which the nation has to navigate these rivers as far as the Atlantic, invites all the nations of the earth to navigate them, and promises:

"1. To donate in the Bolivian territory, by the authority which the law allows, tracts of land from one league to twelve leagues square, to the individuals or companies who, sailing from the Atlantic, shall arrive at one of the points declared to be ports of entry, and may wish to found near them agricultural and industrial establishments.

"2. To guaranty the reward of ten thousand dollars—\$10,000—to the first steamer which, through the La Plata or Amazon, may arrive at either of the above-mentioned points.

"3. To declare free the river exportation of the products of the soil and the national industry.

"V. In due time there will be established and regulated at the above-mentioned points, where it may be necessary, custom-houses for the loading and unloading of merchandise, the Government seeing that the charges for the use of these custom-houses may be as moderate as possible.

"VI. This decree will be submitted for the examination and approval of Congress, on their next meeting."

The Amazon is the largest river in the world, and is navigable almost to its source; the country it waters being fertile, and the climate salubrious. The above decree will doubtless stimulate our adventurous and enterprising citizens to embrace the important advantages which it offers. The reward of \$10,000 to the first steamer which navigates the La Plata or Amazon, will doubtless be awarded to a Yankee. *

MR. DOUGLAS AND MR. BUTLER.

The almost dead calm of the extra session in the Senate was enlivened by a little passage at arms between Senators Douglas and Butler, on the 16th instant. The resolution submitted by Mr. Clayton, calling upon the President for certain papers connected with the Clayton and Bulwer treaty, were under consideration. Mr. Douglas made a speech in reply to that of Mr. Clayton, in the course of which he remarked:

"He [Mr. Clayton] had arraigned him for having attempted to arouse unkind feelings between the United States and England. He denied that this was just. He had never attempted to foster jealousies and unkindness between the two countries. He had only attempted to plant our relations on friendly terms by speaking the truth, as we and they understand and know it to exist. The remark he made about friendly relations was drawn out by the sentiment that England is known to be friendly to us. He, in reply, said that he did not believe her friendly relations constituted a claim to our gratitude. He had said, frankly, he did not think England loves us, and that it was useless to pretend that we love her. The history and the daily actions of the two countries prove this. England is spending her millions to maintain her fortifications all along our coasts, including barren rocks and waste places. Why keep them there? Does she make money out of them? It is known that they are sources of unbounded expenditure. Do they extend commerce? Not at all. She keeps her guns to point at America. If she is so friendly to us, and thus exhibits her love, we should reciprocate, and point our guns at her. We feel that these attempts to fetter and surround us are evidences of hostility, which it is our duty to see, and our ability to resist. The way that friendly relations are to be maintained, is to let her understand our policy, and not be so pusillanimous as to submit to her aggressions. Let her understand what we say, and that we will carry out what we profess, and she will be careful not to aggress. It is a want of candor and frankness that creates unfriendly relations. Ours is an honorable course; hers is illiberal, unkind, and unjust, and we ought to tell her so. He did not desire to annex any more territory, but he frankly avowed we will see the day when we will be compelled to do so. We cannot help, nor can treaties prevent it."

Mr. Butler dissented from the opinion of Mr. Douglas, that it was the duty of the President to have sent down to the Senate the "Hise treaty."

"The President, in his judgment, dared not send that treaty to the Senate, because there were in it provisions repugnant to the Constitution. The President ought to perfect the treaty before he sends it here. It should be communicated as an entirety, and to ask the Senate to mould it would change the whole policy of this Government. When he was told that the United States, a civilized confederacy of republics, is not to conduct its intercourse with the world by treaties, and is not to be restrained by them, and is to know no law but that of self-interest, he had to say we may grow fast, but not live long. Nations must meet with penalties for transgressions, as individuals; and if the principle shall be established that might makes right, and that treaties can be violated with impunity, then the historian will write one of the elements of our decay. Are we to fulfil our destiny without law and without restraint? Cannot treaties, constitutions, and laws, restrain us from running with an acceleration which must result in ruin? He wanted the bridle of restraint to control, and not the spurs to drive us on. We must rely on treaties. When the time arrives for a modification of them, it must be by mutual consent, or annulled by war, the justifiable cause for which it is for every nation to judge. But there is a higher tribunal than ours.

"He heard, with surprise, the Senator speak of England as a mere nation which existed in the past. When we despise England, we must despise the soil of the tree from the fruits of which we have been fed. We must despise Hampden, Sidney, Chatham, Shakspeare, and Burke. He did not say that he had special love for any nation than his own. There is none on God Almighty's earth that he loved as much. But he loved England, because she was his mother, and had poured her tributary and refreshing streams out upon America. The very common law itself made us. We have English law and literature, and tell me that I must despise her! This debate was calculated to sow the seeds of bitterness and delicacy in our relations.

"Mr. Douglas wished to state that President Polk sent a treaty to the Senate—the Mexican treaty—which he said contained obnoxious provisions. The Senator and they who acted with him modified it, and ratified it, and it became a law.

"Mr. Butler thought the treaty was sent down as an entirety, the President saying that Trist had no authority for making it.

"Mr. Douglas. The President said that certain provisions must be stricken out before it could be sanctioned by him. He wished to state what his position was: we should never make a treaty which we cannot faithfully execute. Good faith requires this. His argument was in favor of the sanctity of treaties, and not in favor of violating them. The Senator referred to remarks of his, and said that we ought to love Engand with respect, because she is our mother. It would be hard to tell who our mother was. [Laughter.] We have a great many mothers. We have English, Irish, Scotch, French, Norman, Spanish, and every kind of descent. You cannot tell exactly who our mother was, if we go back to nations to find our mother. All we have found valuable in England we have adopted, and rejected what was injurious; so of the rest of the world. A wise people will avail themselves of wise principles, not regarding their origin. He did not speak in terms of unkindness of England, but spoke of her monuments. The point he made was, that we should not shut our eyes to the fact that England is pursuing a policy which has its origin in hostility to us, and to enhance her own interests. And he had to remark to the Senator, that when he heard him speaking of England pouring in her streams of refreshing intelligence, he thought the broad streams of abolition, treason, and insurrections, had been poured plentifully enough into South Carolina and other slaveholding States of this Union, at least to excuse him from endorsing the streams of literature under the name of Uncle Tom's Cabin and other such works. [Applause in the galleries, and cries of "Good!" "good!"]

"The Chair called to order.

"Mr. Douglas. They are constantly sending works and addresses here, libelling our institutions, and holding us up to the hate and prejudice of the world. While they are thus engaged, he was the last to compliment England for her refreshing streams of literature. [Laughter and renewed applause.]

"The Chair said that unless order should be preserved, the galleries would be cleared.

"Mr. Adams hoped the galleries would be cleared.

"Mr. Douglas. I hope they will.

"Mr. Butler said, when he spoke of gratitude, he spoke of things in which we all have a common interest. He did not thank the Senator for going out of his way to indicate the impure streams. He spoke in laudation of the authors and orators who have poured out their streams upon us, which he trusted were as refreshing to the Senator as they were to the intelligence of the age. Would he dissent from the eloquence and literature of Burke, Chatham, Shakspeare, Hampden, and Sidney? When he spoke of the literature of England, he did not expect a miserable allusion to Uncle Tom's Cabin. It was *ad captandum*, but not manly made.

"Mr. Douglas said he spoke in terms of reverence and respect of the monuments and tombstones of England, erected to patriotism, legal learning, science, and literature—all great, noble, and admirable—and did not expect Senators to go back two or three centuries past, to justify the aggressions of the present; there-